MEMORIAL ADDRESS

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

BY

GEORGE BANCROFT.

FEBRUARY 12, 1866.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESS

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

DELIVERED,

AT THE REQUEST OF BOTH HOUSES OF THE

CONGRESS OF AMERICA,

BEFORE THEM,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AT WASHINGTON,

ON THE 12TH OF FEBRUARY, 1866.

BY GEORGE BANCROFT.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1866.

ORATION.

Senators,

Representatives of America:

That God rules in the affairs of men is as certain as any truth of physical science. On the great moving power which is from the beginning hangs the world of the senses and the world of thought and action. Eternal wisdom marshals the great procession of the nations, working in patient continuity through the ages, never halting and never abrupt, encompassing all events in its oversight, and ever effecting its will, though mortals may slumber in apathy or oppose with madness. Kings are lifted up or thrown down, nations come and go, republics flourish and wither, dynasties pass away like a tale that is told; but nothing is by chance, though men, in their ignorance of causes, may think so. The deeds of time are governed, as well as judged, by the decrees of eternity. The caprice of fleeting existences bends to the immovable omnipotence, which plants its foot on all the centuries and has neither change of purpose nor repose. Sometimes, like a messenger through the thick darkness of night, it steps along mysterious ways; but when the hour strikes for a people, or for mankind, to pass into a new form of being, unseen hands draw the bolts from the

gates of futurity; an all-subduing influence prepares the minds of men for the coming revolution; those who plan resistance find themselves in conflict with the will of Providence rather than with human devices; and all hearts and all understandings, most of all the opinions and influences of the unwilling, are wonderfully attracted and compelled to bear forward the change, which becomes more an obedience to the law of universal nature than submission to the arbitrament of man.

In the fulness of time a republic rose up in the wilderness of America. Thousands of years had passed away before this child of the ages could be born. From whatever there was of good in the systems of former centuries she drew her nourishment; the wrecks of the past were her warnings. With the deepest sentiment of faith fixed in her inmost nature, she disenthralled religion from bondage to temporal power, that her worship might be worship only in spirit and in truth. The wisdom which had passed from India through Greece, with what Greece had added of her own; the jurisprudence of Rome; the mediæval municipalities; the Teutonic method of representation; the political experience of England; the benignant wisdom of the expositors of the law of nature and of nations in

France and Holland, all shed on her their selectest influence. She washed the gold of political wisdom from the sands wherever it was found; she cleft it from the rocks; she gleaned it among ruins. Out of all the discoveries of statesmen and sages, out of all the experience of past human life, she compiled a perennial political philosophy, the primordial principles of national ethics. The wise men of Europe sought the best government in a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; America went behind these names to extract from them the vital elements of social forms, and blend them harmoniously in the free commonwealth, which comes nearest to the illustration of the natural equality of all men. She intrusted the guardianship of established rights to law, the movements of reform to the spirit of the people, and drew her force from the happy reconciliation of both.

Republics had heretofore been limited to small cantons, or cities and their dependencies; America, doing that of which the like had not before been known upon the earth, or believed by kings and statesmen to be possible, extended her republic across a continent. Under her auspices the vine of liberty took deep root and filled the land; the hills were covered with its shadow, its boughs were like the goodly cedars, and reached

unto both oceans. The fame of this only daughter of freedom went out into all the lands of the earth; from her the human race drew hope.

Neither hereditary monarchy nor hereditary aristocracy planted itself on our soil; the only hereditary condition that fastened itself upon us was servitude. Nature works in sincerity, and is ever true to its law. The bee hives honey; the viper distils poison; the vine stores its juices, and so do the poppy and the upas. In like manner every thought and every action ripens its seed, each according to its kind. In the individual man, and still more in a nation, a just idea gives life, and progress, and glory; a false conception portends disaster, shame, and death. A hundred and twenty years ago a West Jersey Quaker wrote: "This trade of importing slaves is dark gloominess hanging over the land; the consequences will be grievous to posterity." At the north the growth of slavery was arrested by natural causes; in the region nearest the tropics it throve rankly, and worked itself into the organism of the rising States. Virginia stood between the two, with soil, and climate, and resources demanding free labor, yet capable of the profitable employment of the slave. She was the land of great statesmen, and they saw the danger of her being whelmed under the rising flood in time to struggle

against the delusions of avarice and pride. Ninety-four years ago the legislature of Virginia addressed the British king, saying that the trade in slaves was "of great inhumanity," was opposed to the "security and happiness" of their constituents, "would in time have the most destructive influence," and "endanger their very existence." And the king answered them that, "upon pain of his highest displeasure, the importation of slaves should not be in any respect obstructed." "Pharisaical Britain," wrote Franklin in behalf of Virginia, "to pride thyself in setting free a single slave that happened to land on thy coasts, while thy laws continue a traffic whereby so many hundreds of thousands are dragged into a slavery that is entailed on their posterity." "A serious view of this subject," said Patrick Henry in 1773, "gives a gloomy prospect to future times." In the same year George Mason wrote to the legislature of Virginia: "The laws of impartial Providence may avenge our injustice upon our posterity." Conforming his conduct to his convictions, Jefferson, in Virginia, and in the Continental Congress, with the approval of Edmund Pendleton, branded the slave-trade as piracy; and he fixed in the Declaration of Independence, as the corner-stone of America: "All men are created equal, with an unalienable right to liberty." On the first

organization of temporary governments for the continental domain, Jefferson, but for the default of New Jersey, would, in 1784, have consecrated every part of that territory to freedom. In the formation of the national Constitution, Virginia, opposed by a part of New England, vainly struggled to abolish the slave-trade at once and forever; and when the ordinance of 1787 was introduced by Nathan Dane without the clause prohibiting slavery, it was through the favorable disposition of Virginia and the South that the clause of Jefferson was restored, and the whole northwestern territory—all the territory that then belonged to the nation—was reserved for the labor of freemen.

The hope prevailed in Virginia that the abolition of the slave-trade would bring with it the gradual abolition of slavery; but the expectation was doomed to disappointment. In supporting incipient measures for emancipation, Jefferson encountered difficulties greater than he could overcome, and, after vain wrestlings, the words that broke from him, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that His justice cannot sleep forever," were words of despair. It was the desire of Washington's heart that Virginia should remove slavery by a public act; and as the prospects of a general emancipation grew more and more dim, he, in

utter hopelessness of the action of the State, did all that he could by bequeathing freedom to his own slaves. Good and true men had, from the days of 1776, suggested the colonizing of the negro in the home of his ancestors; but the idea of colonization was thought to increase the difficulty of emancipation, and, in spite of strong support, while it accomplished much good for Africa, it proved impracticable as a remedy at home. Madison, who in early life disliked slavery so much that he wished "to depend as little as possible on the labor of slaves;" Madison, who held that where slavery exists "the republican theory becomes fallacious;" Madison, who in the last years of his life would not consent to the annexation of Texas, lest his countrymen should fill it with slaves; Madison, who said, "slavery is the greatest evil under which the nation labors—a portentous evil—an evil, moral, political, and economical—a sad blot on our free country"—went mournfully into old age with the cheerless words: "No satisfactory plan has yet been devised for taking out the stain."

The men of the Revolution passed away; a new generation sprang up, impatient that an institution to which they clung should be condemned as inhuman, unwise, and unjust. In the throes of discontent at the self-reproach of their fathers, and blinded by the lustre

of wealth to be acquired by the culture of a new staple, they devised the theory that slavery, which they would not abolish, was not evil, but good. They turned on the friends of colonization, and confidently demanded: "Why take black men from a civilized and Christian country, where their labor is a source of immense gain, and a power to control the markets of the world, and send them to a land of ignorance, idolatry, and indolence, which was the home of their forefathers, but not theirs? Slavery is a blessing. Were they not in their ancestral land naked, scarcely lifted above brutes, ignorant of the course of the sun, controlled by nature? And in their new abode have they not been taught to know the difference of the seasons, to plough, and plant, and reap, to drive oxen, to tame the horse, to exchange their scanty dialect for the richest of all the languages among men, and the stupid adoration of follies for the purest religion? And since slavery is good for the blacks, it is good for their masters, bringing opulence and the opportunity of educating a race. The slavery of the black is good in itself; he shall serve the white man forever." And nature, which better understood the quality of fleeting interest and passion, laughed as it caught the echo, "man" and "forever!"

A regular development of pretensions followed the

new declaration with logical consistency. Under the old declaration every one of the States had retained, each for itself, the right of manumitting all slaves by an ordinary act of legislation; now the power of the people over servitude through their legislatures was curtailed, and the privileged class was swift in imposing legal and constitutional obstructions on the people themselves. The power of emancipation was narrowed or taken away. The slave might not be disquieted by education. There remained an unconfessed consciousness that the system of bondage was wrong, and a restless memory that it was at variance with the true American tradition; its safety was therefore to be secured by political organization. The generation that made the Constitution took care for the predominance of freedom in Congress by the ordinance of Jefferson; the new school aspired to secure for slavery an equality of votes in the Senate, and, while it hinted at an organic act that should concede to the collective South a veto power on national legislation, it assumed that each State separately had the right to revise and nullify laws of the United States, according to the discretion of its judgment.

The new theory hung as a bias on the foreign relations of the country; there could be no recognition of

Hayti, nor even of the American colony of Liberia; and the world was given to understand that the establishment of free labor in Cuba would be a reason for wresting that island from Spain. Territories were annexed—Louisiana, Florida, Texas, half of Mexico; slavery must have its share in them all, and it accepted for a time a dividing line between the unquestioned domain of free labor and that in which involuntary labor was to be tolerated. A few years passed away, and the new school, strong and arrogant, demanded and received an apology for applying the Jefferson proviso to Oregon.

The application of that proviso was interrupted for three administrations, but justice moved steadily onward. In the news that the men of California had chosen freedom, Calhoun heard the knell of parting slavery, and on his death-bed he counselled secession. Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison had died despairing of the abolition of slavery; Calhoun died in despair at the growth of freedom. His system rushed irresistibly to its natural development. The death-struggle for California was followed by a short truce; but the new school of politicians, who said that slavery was not evil, but good, soon sought to recover the ground they had lost, and, confident of securing Kansas,

they demanded that the established line in the Territories between freedom and slavery should be blotted out. The country, believing in the strength and enterprise and expansive energy of freedom, made answer, though reluctantly: "Be it so; let there be no strife between brethren; let freedom and slavery compete for the Territories on equal terms, in a fair field, under an impartial administration;" and on this theory, if on any, the contest might have been left to the decision of time.

The South started back in appalment from its victory, for it knew that a fair competition foreboded its defeat. But where could it now find an ally to save it from its own mistake? What I have next to say is spoken with no emotion but regret. Our meeting to-day is, as it were, at the grave, in the presence of eternity, and the truth must be uttered in soberness and sincerity. In a great republic, as was observed more than two thousand years ago, any attempt to overturn the state owes its strength to aid from some branch of the government. The Chief Justice of the United States, without any necessity or occasion, volunteered to come to the rescue of the theory of slavery; and from his court there lay no appeal but to the bar of humanity and history. Against the Constitution, against the memory of the nation, against a previous decision, against a series of

enactments, he decided that the slave is property; that slave property is entitled to no less protection than any other property; that the Constitution upholds it in every Territory against any act of a local legislature, and even against Congress itself; or, as the President for that term tersely promulgated the saying, "Kansas is as much a slave State as South Carolina or Georgia; slavery, by virtue of the Constitution, exists in every Territory." The municipal character of slavery being thus taken away, and slave property decreed to be "sacred," the authority of the courts was invoked to introduce it by the comity of law into States where slavery had been abolished, and in one of the courts of the United States a judge pronounced the African slave-trade legitimate, and numerous and powerful advocates demanded its restoration.

Moreover, the Chief Justice, in his elaborate opinion, announced what had never been heard from any magistrate of Greece or Rome; what was unknown to civil law, and canon law, and feudal law, and common law, and constitutional law; unknown to Jay, to Rutledge, Ellsworth, and Marshall—that there are "slave races." The spirit of evil is intensely logical. Having the authority of this decision, five States swiftly followed the earlier example of a sixth, and opened the way for

reducing the free negro to bondage; the migrating free negro became a slave if he but entered within the jurisdiction of a seventh; and an eighth, from its extent, and soil, and mineral resources, destined to incalculable greatness, closed its eyes on its coming prosperity, and enacted, as by Taney's dictum it had the right to do, that every free black man who would live within its limits must accept the condition of slavery for himself and his posterity.

Only one step more remained to be taken. Jefferson and the leading statesmen of his day held fast to the idea that the enslavement of the African was socially, morally, and politically wrong. The new school was founded exactly upon the opposite idea; and they resolved, first, to distract the democratic party, for which the Supreme Court had now furnished the means, and then to establish a new government, with negro slavery for its corner-stone, as socially, morally, and politically right.

As the Presidential election drew on, one of the great traditional parties did not make its appearance; the other reeled as it sought to preserve its old position, and the candidate who most nearly represented its best opinion, driven by patriotic zeal, roamed the country from end to end to speak for union, eager, at least, to

confront its enemies, yet not having hope that it would find its deliverance through him. The storm rose to a whirlwind; who should allay its wrath? The most experienced statesmen of the country had failed; there was no hope from those who were great after the flesh: could relief come from one whose wisdom was like the wisdom of little children?

The choice of America fell on a man born west of the Alleghanies, in the cabin of poor people of Hardin county, Kentucky—Abraham Lincoln.

His mother could read, but not write; his father could do neither; but his parents sent him, with an old spelling-book, to school, and he learned in his childhood to do both.

When eight years old he floated down the Ohio with his father on a raft, which bore the family and all their possessions to the shore of Indiana; and, child as he was, he gave help as they toiled through dense forests to the interior of Spencer county. There, in the land of free labor, he grew up in a log-cabin, with the solemn solitude for his teacher in his meditative hours. Of Asiatic literature he knew only the Bible; of Greek, Latin, and mediæval, no more than the translation of Æsop's Fables; of English, John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. The traditions of George Fox and William

Penn passed to him dimly along the lines of two centuries through his ancestors, who were Quakers.

Otherwise his education was altogether American. The Declaration of Independence was his compendium of political wisdom, the Life of Washington his constant study, and something of Jefferson and Madison reached him through Henry Clay, whom he honored from boyhood. For the rest, from day to day, he lived the life of the American people, walked in its light, reasoned with its reason, thought with its power of thought, felt the beatings of its mighty heart, and so was in every way a child of nature, a child of the West, a child of America.

At nineteen, feeling impulses of ambition to get on in the world, he engaged himself to go down the Mississippi in a flatboat, receiving ten dollars a month for his wages, and afterwards he made the trip once more. At twenty-one he drove his father's cattle, as the family migrated to Illinois, and split rails to fence in the new homestead in the wild. At twenty-three he was a captain of volunteers in the Black Hawk war. He kept a store. He learned something of surveying, but of English literature he added to Bunyan nothing but Shakspeare's plays. At twenty-five he was elected to the legislature of Illinois, where he served eight years.

At twenty-seven he was admitted to the bar. In 1837 he chose his home at Springfield, the beautiful centre of the richest land in the State. In 1847 he was a member of the national Congress, where he voted about forty times in favor of the principle of the Jefferson proviso. In 1849 he sought, eagerly but unsuccessfully, the place of Commissioner of the Land Office, and he refused an appointment that would have transferred his residence to Oregon. In 1854 he gave his influence to elect from Illinois, to the American Senate, a Democrat, who would certainly do justice to Kansas. In 1858, as the rival of Douglas, he went before the people of the mighty Prairie State, saying, "This Union cannot permanently endure half slave and half free; the Union will not be dissolved, but the house will cease to be divided;" and now, in 1861, with no experience whatever as an executive officer, while States were madly flying from their orbit, and wise men knew not where to find counsel, this descendant of Quakers, this pupil of Bunyan, this offspring of the great West, was elected President of America.

He measured the difficulty of the duty that devolved upon him, and was resolved to fulfil it. As on the eleventh of February, 1861, he left Springfield, which for a quarter of a century had been his happy home, to

the crowd of his friends and neighbors, whom he was never more to meet, he spoke a solemn farewell: "I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty has devolved upon me, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since Washington. He never would have succeeded, except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. On the same Almighty Being I place my reliance. Pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain." To the men of Indiana he said: "I am but an accidental, temporary instrument; it is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty." At the capital of Ohio he said: "Without a name, without a reason why I should have a name, there has fallen upon me a task such as did not rest even upon the Father of his country." At various places in New York, especially at Albany, before the legislature, which tendered him the united support of the great Empire State, he said: "While I hold myself the humblest of all the individuals who have ever been elevated to the Presidency, I have a more difficult task to perform than any of them. I bring a true heart to the work. I must rely upon the people of the whole country for support, and with their sustaining aid even I, humble as I am,

cannot fail to carry the ship of state safely through the storm." To the assembly of New Jersey, at Trenton, he explained: "I shall take the ground I deem most just to the North, the East, the West, the South, and the whole country, in good temper, certainly with no malice to any section. I am devoted to peace, but it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly." In the old Independence Hall, of Philadelphia, he said: "I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence, which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but to the world in all future time. If the country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I would rather be assassinated on the spot than surrender it. I have said nothing but what I am willing to live and die by."

Travelling in the dead of night to escape assassination, LINCOLN arrived at Washington nine days before his inauguration. The outgoing President, at the opening of the session of Congress, had still kept as the majority of his advisers men engaged in treason; had declared that in case of even an "imaginary" apprehension of danger from notions of freedom among the slaves, "disunion would become inevitable." LINCOLN and others had questioned the opinion of Taney; such

impugning he ascribed to the "factious temper of the times." The favorite doctrine of the majority of the Democratic party on the power of a territorial legislature over slavery he condemned as an attack on "the sacred rights of property." The State legislatures, he insisted, must repeal what he called "their unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments," and which, if such, were "null and void," or "it would be impossible for any human power to save the Union." Nay! if these unimportant acts were not repealed, "the injured States would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the government of the Union." He maintained that no State might secede at its sovereign will and pleasure; that the Union was meant for perpetuity, and that Congress might attempt to preserve it, but only by conciliation; that "the sword was not placed in their hands to preserve it by force;" that "the last desperate remedy of a despairing people" would be "an explanatory amendment recognising the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States." The American Union he called "a confederacy" of States, and he thought it a duty to make the appeal for the amendment "before any of these States should separate themselves from the Union." The views of the Lieutenant General, containing some patriotic advice, "conceded the right

of secession," pronounced a quadruple rupture of the Union "a smaller evil than the reuniting of the fragments by the sword," and "eschewed the idea of invading a seceded State." After changes in the Cabinet, the President informed Congress that "matters were still worse;" that "the South suffered serious grievances," which should be redressed "in peace." The day after this message the flag of the Union was fired upon from Fort Morris, and the insult was not revenged or noticed. Senators in Congress telegraphed to their constituents to seize the national forts, and they were not arrested. The finances of the country were grievously embarrassed. Its little army was not within reach; the part of it in Texas, with all its stores, was made over by its commander to rebels. One State after another voted in convention to secede. A peace congress, so called, met at the request of Virginia, to concert the terms of a capitulation which should secure permission for the continuance of the Union. Congress, in both branches, sought to devise conciliatory expedients; the Territories of the country were organized in a manner not to conflict with any pretensions of the South, or any decision of the Supreme Court; and, nevertheless, the representatives of the rebellion formed at Montgomery a provisional government, and pursued their relentless

purpose with such success that the Lieutenant General feared the city of Washington might find itself "included in a foreign country," and proposed, among the options for the consideration of LINCOLN, to bid the wayward States "depart in peace." The great republic appeared to have its emblem in the vast unfinished Capitol, at that moment surrounded by masses of stone and prostrate columns never yet lifted into their places, seemingly the monument of high but delusive aspirations, the confused wreck of inchoate magnificence, sadder than any ruin of Egyptian Thebes or Athens.

The fourth of March came. With instinctive wisdom the new President, speaking to the people on taking the oath of office, put aside every question that divided the country, and gained a right to universal support by planting himself on the single idea of Union. The Union he declared to be unbroken and perpetual, and he announced his determination to fulfil "the simple duty of taking care that the laws be faithfully executed in all the States." Seven days later, the convention of Confederate States unanimously adopted a constitution of their own, and the new government was authoritatively announced to be founded on the idea that the negro race is a slave race; that slavery is its natural and normal condition. The issue was made

up, whether the great republic was to maintain its providential place in the history of mankind, or a rebellion founded on negro slavery gain a recognition of its principle throughout the civilized world. To the disaffected LINCOLN had said, "You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors." To fire the passions of the southern portion of the people, the confederate government chose to become aggressors, and, on the morning of the twelfth of April, began the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and compelled its evacuation.

It is the glory of the late President that he had perfect faith in the perpetuity of the Union. Supported in advance by Douglas, who spoke as with the voice of a million, he instantly called a meeting of Congress, and summoned the people to come up and repossess the forts, places, and property which had been seized from the Union. The men of the north were trained in schools; industrious and frugal; many of them delicately bred, their minds teeming with ideas and fertile in plans of enterprise; given to the culture of the arts; eager in the pursuit of wealth, yet employing wealth less for ostentation than for developing the resources of their country; seeking happiness in the calm of domestic life; and such lovers of peace, that for generations they had been reputed unwarlike. Now, at the cry of their

country in its distress, they rose up with unappeasable patriotism; not hirelings—the purest and of the best blood in the land. Sons of a pious ancestry, with a clear perception of duty, unclouded faith and fixed resolve to succeed, they thronged around the President, to support the wronged, the beautiful flag of the nation. The halls of theological seminaries sent forth their young men, whose lips were touched with eloquence, whose hearts kindled with devotion, to serve in the ranks, and make their way to command only as they learned the art of war. Striplings in the colleges, as well the most gentle and the most studious, those of sweetest temper and loveliest character and brightest genius, passed from their classes to the camp. The lumbermen from the forests, the mechanics from their benches, where they had been trained, by the exercise of political rights, to share the life and hope of the republic, to feel their responsibility to their forefathers, their posterity and mankind, went to the front, resolved that their dignity, as a constituent part of this republic, should not be impaired. Farmers and sons of farmers left the land but half ploughed, the grain but half planted, and, taking up the musket, learned to face without fear the presence of peril and the coming of death in the shocks of war, while their hearts were

still attracted to their herds and fields, and all the tender affections of home. Whatever there was of truth and faith and public love in the common heart, broke out with one expression. The mighty winds blew from every quarter, to fan the flame of the sacred and unquenchable fire.

For a time the war was thought to be confined to our own domestic affairs, but it was soon seen that it involved the destinies of mankind; its principles and causes shook the politics of Europe to the centre, and from Lisbon to Pekin divided the governments of the world.

There was a kingdom whose people had in an eminent degree attained to freedom of industry and the security of person and property. Its middle class rose to greatness. Out of that class sprung the noblest poets and philosophers, whose words built up the intellect of its people; skilful navigators, to find out for its merchants the many paths of the oceans; discoverers in natural science, whose inventions guided its industry to wealth, till it equalled any nation of the world in letters, and excelled all in trade and commerce. But its government was become a government of land, and not of men; every blade of grass was represented, but only a small minority of the people. In the transition from

the feudal forms the heads of the social organization freed themselves from the military services which were the conditions of their tenure, and, throwing the burden on the industrial classes, kept all the soil to themselves. Vast estates that had been managed by monasteries as endowments for religion and charity were impropriated to swell the wealth of courtiers and favorites; and the commons, where the poor man once had his right of pasture, were taken away, and, under forms of law, enclosed distributively within the domains of the adjacent landholders. Although no law forbade any inhabitant from purchasing land, the costliness of the transfer constituted a prohibition; so that it was the rule of the country that the plough should not be in the hands of its owner. The church was rested on a contradiction; claiming to be an embodiment of absolute truth, it was a creature of the statute-book.

The progress of time increased the terrible contrast between wealth and poverty. In their years of strength the laboring people, cut off from all share in governing the state, derived a scant support from the severest toil, and had no hope for old age but in public charity or death. A grasping ambition had dotted the world with military posts, kept watch over our borders on the northeast, at the Bermudas, in the West Indies, appropriated

the gates of the Pacific, of the Southern and of the Indian ocean, hovered on our northwest at Vancouver, held the whole of the newest continent, and the entrances to the old Mediterranean and Red Sea, and garrisoned forts all the way from Madras to China. That aristocracy had gazed with terror on the growth of a commonwealth where freeholders existed by the million, and religion was not in bondage to the state, and now they could not repress their joy at its perils. They had not one word of sympathy for the kind-hearted poor man's son whom America had chosen for her chief; they jeered at his large hands, and long feet, and ungainly stature; and the British secretary of state for foreign affairs made haste to send word through the palaces of Europe that the great republic was in its agony; that the republic was no more; that a head-stone was all that remained due by the law of nations to "the late Union." But it is written, "Let the dead bury their dead;" they may not bury the living. Let the dead bury their dead; let a bill of reform remove the worn-out government of a class, and infuse new life into the British constitution by confiding rightful power to the people.

But while the vitality of America is indestructible, the British government hurried to do what never before

had been done by Christian powers; what was in direct conflict with its own exposition of public law in the time of our struggle for independence. Though the insurgent States had not a ship in an open harbor, it invested them with all the rights of a belligerent, even on the ocean; and this, too, when the rebellion was not only directed against the gentlest and most beneficent government on earth, without a shadow of justifiable cause, but when the rebellion was directed against human nature itself for the perpetual enslavement of a race. And the effect of this recognition was, that acts in themselves piratical found shelter in British courts of law. The resources of British capitalists, their workshops, their armories, their private arsenals, their ship-yards, were in league with the insurgents, and every British harbor in the wide world became a safe port for British ships, manned by British sailors, and armed with British guns, to prey on our peaceful commerce; even on our ships coming from British ports, freighted with British products, or that had carried gifts of grain to the English poor. The prime minister, in the House of Commons, sustained by cheers, scoffed at the thought that their laws could be amended at our request, so as to preserve real neutrality; and to remonstrances, now owned to have been just, their sec-

retary of state answered that they could not change their laws *ad infinitum.*

The people of America then wished, as they always have wished, as they still wish, friendly relations with England, and no man in England or America can desire it more strongly than I. This country has always yearned for good relations with England. Thrice only in all its history has that yearning been fairly met: in the days of Hampden and Cromwell, again in the first ministry of the elder Pitt, and once again in the ministry of Shelburne. Not that there have not at all times been just men among the peers of Britain—like Halifax in the days of James the Second, or a Granville, an Argyll, or a Houghton in ours; and we cannot be indifferent to a country that produces statesmen like Cobden and Bright; but the best bower anchor of peace was the working class of England, who suffered most from our civil war, but who, while they broke their diminished bread in sorrow, always encouraged us to persevere.

The act of recognising the rebel belligerents was concerted with France—France, so beloved in America, on which she had conferred the greatest benefits that one people ever conferred on another; France, which stands foremost on the continent of Europe for the solidity of

her culture, as well as for the bravery and generous impulses of her sons; France, which for centuries had been moving steadily in her own way towards intellectual and political freedom. The policy regarding further colonization of America by European powers, known commonly as the doctrine of Monroe, had its origin in France, and if it takes any man's name, should bear the name of Turgot. It was adopted by Louis the Sixteenth, in the cabinet of which Vergennes was the most important member. It is emphatically the policy of France, to which, with transient deviations, the Bourbons, the First Napoleon, the House of Orleans have adhered.

The late President was perpetually harassed by rumors that the Emperor Napoleon the Third desired formally to recognise the States in rebellion as an independent power, and that England held him back by her reluctance, or France by her traditions of freedom, or he himself by his own better judgment and clear perception of events. But the republic of Mexico, on our borders, was, like ourselves, distracted by a rebellion, and from a similar cause. The monarchy of England had fastened upon us slavery which did not disappear with independence; in like manner, the ecclesiastical policy established by the Spanish council

of the Indies, in the days of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, retained its vigor in the Mexican republic. The fifty years of civil war under which she had languished was due to the bigoted system which was the legacy of monarchy, just as here the inheritance of slavery kept alive political strife, and culminated in civil war. As with us there could be no quiet but through the end of slavery, so in Mexico there could be no prosperity until the crushing tyranny of intolerance should cease. The party of slavery in the United States sent their emissaries to Europe to solicit aid; and so did the party of the church in Mexico, as organized by the old Spanish council of the Indies, but with a different result. Just as the Republican party had made an end of the rebellion, and was establishing the best government ever known in that region, and giving promise to the nation of order, peace, and prosperity, word was brought us, in the moment of our deepest affliction, that the French Emperor, moved by a desire to erect in North America a buttress for imperialism, would transform the republic of Mexico into a secundo-geniture for the house of Hapsburg. America might complain; she could not then interpose, and delay seemed justifiable. It was seen that Mexico could not, with all its wealth of land, compete in cereal pro-

ducts with our northwest, nor in tropical products with Cuba, nor could it, under a disputed dynasty, attract capital, or create public works, or develop mines, or borrow money; so that the imperial system of Mexico, which was forced at once to recognise the wisdom of the policy of the republic by adopting it, could prove only an unremunerating drain on the French treasury for the support of an Austrian adventurer.

Meantime a new series of momentous questions grows up, and forces itself on the consideration of the thoughtful. Republicanism has learned how to introduce into its constitution every element of order, as well as every element of freedom; but thus far the continuity of its government has seemed to depend on the continuity of elections. It is now to be considered how perpetuity is to be secured against foreign occupation. The successor of Charles the First of England dated his reign from the death of his father; the Bourbons, coming back after a long series of revolutions, claimed that the Louis who became king was the eighteenth of that name. The present Emperor of the French, disdaining a title from election alone, calls himself Napoleon the Third. Shall a republic have less power of continuance when invading armies prevent a peaceful resort to the ballot-box? What force shall it

attach to intervening legislation? What validity to debts contracted for its overthrow? These momentous questions are, by the invasion of Mexico, thrown up for solution. A free state once truly constituted should be as undying as its people: the republic of Mexico must rise again.

It was the condition of affairs in Mexico that involved the Pope of Rome in our difficulties so far that he alone among sovereigns recognised the chief of the Confederate States as a president, and his supporters as a people; and in letters to two great prelates of the Catholic church in the United States gave counsels for peace at a time when peace meant the victory of secession. Yet events move as they are ordered. The blessing of the Pope at Rome on the head of Duke Maximilian could not revive in the nineteenth century the ecclesiastical policy of the sixteenth, and the result is only a new proof that there can be no prosperity in the state without religious freedom.

When it came home to the consciousness of the Americans that the war which they were waging was a war for the liberty of all the nations of the world, for freedom itself, they thanked God for giving them strength to endure the severity of the trial to which He put their sincerity, and nerved themselves for their

duty with an inexorable will. The President was led along by the greatness of their self-sacrificing example; and as a child, in a dark night, on a rugged way, catches hold of the hand of its father for guidance and support, he clung fast to the hand of the people, and moved calmly through the gloom. While the statesmanship of Europe was mocking at the hopeless vanity of their efforts, they put forth such miracles of energy as the history of the world had never known. The contributions to the popular loans amounted in four years to twenty-seven and a half hundred millions of dollars; the revenue of the country from taxation was increased seven-fold. The navy of the United States, drawing into the public service the willing militia of the seas, doubled its tonnage in eight months, and established an actual blockade from Cape Hatteras to the Rio Grande; in the course of the war it was increased five-fold in men and in tonnage, while the inventive genius of the country devised more effective kinds of ordnance, and new forms of naval architecture in wood and iron. There went into the field, for various terms of enlistment, about two million men, and in March last the men in the army exceeded a million: that is to say, nine of every twenty able-bodied men in the free Territories and States took some part in the

war; and at one time every fifth of their able-bodied men was in service. In one single month one hundred and sixty-five thousand men were recruited into service. Once, within four weeks, Ohio organized and placed in the field forty-two regiments of infantry—nearly thirty-six thousand men; and Ohio was like other States in the east and in the west. The well-mounted cavalry numbered eighty-four thousand; of horses and mules there were bought, from first to last, two-thirds of a million. In the movements of troops science came in aid of patriotism, so that, to choose a single instance out of many, an army twenty-three thousand strong, with its artillery, trains, baggage, and animals, were moved by rail from the Potomac to the Tennessee, twelve hundred miles, in seven days. On the long marches, wonders of military construction bridged the rivers, and wherever an army halted, ample supplies awaited them at their ever-changing base. The vile thought that life is the greatest of blessings did not rise up. In six hundred and twenty-five battles and severe skirmishes blood flowed like water. It streamed over the grassy plains; it stained the rocks; the undergrowth of the forests was red with it; and the armies marched on with majestic courage from one conflict to another, knowing that they were fighting for God and

liberty. The organization of the medical department met its infinitely multiplied duties with exactness and despatch. At the news of a battle, the best surgeons of our cities hastened to the field, to offer the untiring aid of the greatest experience and skill. The gentlest and most refined of women left homes of luxury and ease to build hospital tents near the armies, and serve as nurses to the sick and dying. Beside the large supply of religious teachers by the public, the congregations spared to their brothers in the field the ablest ministers. The Christian Commission, which expended more than six and a quarter millions, sent nearly five thousand clergymen, chosen out of the best, to keep unsoiled the religious character of the men, and made gifts of clothes and food and medicine. The organization of private charity assumed unheard-of dimensions. The Sanitary Commission, which had seven thousand societies, distributed, under the direction of an unpaid board, spontaneous contributions to the amount of fifteen millions in supplies or money—a million and a half in money from California alone—and dotted the scene of war, from Paducah to Port Royal, from Belle Plain, Virginia, to Brownsville, Texas, with homes and lodges.

The country had for its allies the river Mississippi,

which would not be divided, and the range of mountains which carried the stronghold of the free through Western Virginia and Kentucky and Tennessee to the highlands of Alabama. But it invoked the still higher power of immortal justice. In ancient Greece, where servitude was the universal custom, it was held that if a child were to strike its parent, the slave should defend the parent, and by that act recover his freedom. After vain resistance, LINCOLN, who had tried to solve the question by gradual emancipation, by colonization, and by compensation, at last saw that slavery must be abolished, or the republic must die; and on the first day of January, 1863, he wrote liberty on the banners of the armies. When this proclamation, which struck the fetters from three millions of slaves, reached Europe, Lord Russell, a countryman of Milton and Wilberforce, eagerly put himself forward to speak of it in the name of mankind, saying: "It is of a very strange nature;" "a measure of war of a very questionable kind;" an act "of vengeance on the slave owner," that does no more than "profess to emancipate slaves where the United States authorities cannot make emancipation a reality." Now there was no part of the country embraced in the proclamation where the United States could not and did not make emancipation a reality.

Those who saw LINCOLN most frequently had never before heard him speak with bitterness of any human being, but he did not conceal how keenly he felt that he had been wronged by Lord Russell. And he wrote, in reply to other cavils: "The emancipation policy and the use of colored troops were the greatest blows yet dealt to the rebellion; the job was a great national one, and let none be slighted who bore an honorable part in it. I hope peace will come soon, and come to stay; then will there be some black men who can remember that they have helped mankind to this great consummation."

The proclamation accomplished its end, for, during the war, our armies came into military possession of every State in rebellion. Then, too, was called forth the new power that comes from the simultaneous diffusion of thought and feeling among the nations of mankind. The mysterious sympathy of the millions throughout the world was given spontaneously. The best writers of Europe waked the conscience of the thoughtful, till the intelligent moral sentiment of the Old World was drawn to the side of the unlettered statesman of the West. Russia, whose emperor had just accomplished one of the grandest acts in the course of time, by raising twenty millions of bondmen into

freeholders, and thus assuring the growth and culture of a Russian people, remained our unwavering friend. From the oldest abode of civilization, which gave the first example of an imperial government with equality among the people, Prince Kung, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, remembered the saying of Confucius, that we should not do to others what we would not that others should do to us, and, in the name of his emperor, read a lesson to European diplomatists by closing the ports of China against the war-ships and privateers of "the seditious."

The war continued, with all the peoples of the world for anxious spectators. Its cares weighed heavily on LINCOLN, and his face was ploughed with the furrows of thought and sadness. With malice towards none, free from the spirit of revenge, victory made him importunate for peace, and his enemies never doubted his word, or despaired of his abounding clemency. He longed to utter pardon as the word for all, but not unless the freedom of the negro should be assured. The grand battles of Fort Donelson, Chattanooga, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Gettysburg, the Wilderness of Virginia, Winchester, Nashville, the capture of New Orleans, Vicksburg, Mobile, Fort Fisher, the march from Atlanta, and the capture of Savannah and Charles-

ton, all foretold the issue. Still more, the self-regeneration of Missouri, the heart of the continent; of Maryland, whose sons never heard the midnight bells chime so sweetly as when they rang out to earth and heaven that, by the voice of her own people, she took her place among the free; of Tennessee, which passed through fire and blood, through sorrows and the shadow of death, to work out her own deliverance, and by the faithfulness of her own sons to renew her youth like the eagle—proved that victory was deserved, and would be worth all that it cost. If words of mercy, uttered as they were by LINCOLN on the waters of Virginia, were defiantly repelled, the armies of the country, moving with one will, went as the arrow to its mark, and, without a feeling of revenge, struck a death-blow at rebellion.

Where, in the history of nations, had a Chief Magistrate possessed more sources of consolation and joy than LINCOLN? His countrymen had shown their love by choosing him to a second term of service. The raging war that had divided the country had lulled, and private grief was hushed by the grandeur of the result. The nation had its new birth of freedom, soon to be secured forever by an amendment of the Constitution. His persistent gentleness had conquered for him a kind-

lier feeling on the part of the South. His scoffers among the grandees of Europe began to do him honor. The laboring classes everywhere saw in his advancement their own. All peoples sent him their benedictions. And at this moment of the height of his fame, to which his humility and modesty added charms, he fell by the hand of the assassin, and the only triumph awarded him was the march to the grave.

This is no time to say that human glory is but dust and ashes; that we mortals are no more than shadows in pursuit of shadows. How mean a thing were man if there were not that within him which is higher than himself; if he could not master the illusions of sense, and discern the connexions of events by a superior light which comes from God! He so shares the divine impulses that he has power to subject interested passions to love of country, and personal ambition to the ennoblement of his kind. Not in vain has LINCOLN lived, for he has helped to make this republic an example of justice, with no caste but the caste of humanity. The heroes who led our armies and ships into battle and fell in the service—Lyon, McPherson, Reynolds, Sedgwick, Wadsworth, Foote, Ward, with their compeers—did not die in vain; they and the myriads of nameless martyrs, and he, the chief martyr, gave up their lives

willingly "that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The assassination of LINCOLN, who was so free from malice, has, by some mysterious influence, struck the country with solemn awe, and hushed, instead of exciting, the passion for revenge. It seems as if the just had died for the unjust. When I think of the friends I have lost in this war—and every one who hears me has, like myself, lost some of those whom he most loved—there is no consolation to be derived from victims on the scaffold, or from anything but the established union of the regenerated nation.

In his character LINCOLN was through and through an American. He is the first native of the region west of the Alleghanies to attain to the highest station; and how happy it is that the man who was brought forward as the natural outgrowth and first fruits of that region should have been of unblemished purity in private life, a good son, a kind husband, a most affectionate father, and, as a man, so gentle to all. As to integrity, Douglas, his rival, said of him: "Lincoln is the honestest man I ever knew."

The habits of his mind were those of meditation and inward thought, rather than of action. He delighted to express his opinions by an apothegm, illustrate them

by a parable, or drive them home by a story. He was skilful in analysis, discerned with precision the central idea on which a question turned, and knew how to disengage it and present it by itself in a few homely, strong old English words that would be intelligible to all. He excelled in logical statement more than in executive ability. He reasoned clearly, his reflective judgment was good, and his purposes were fixed; but, like the Hamlet of his only poet, his will was tardy in action, and, for this reason, and not from humility or tenderness of feeling, he sometimes deplored that the duty which devolved on him had not fallen to the lot of another.

Lincoln gained a name by discussing questions which, of all others, most easily lead to fanaticism; but he was never carried away by enthusiastic zeal, never indulged in extravagant language, never hurried to support extreme measures, never allowed himself to be controlled by sudden impulses. During the progress of the election at which he was chosen President he expressed no opinion that went beyond the Jefferson proviso of 1784. Like Jefferson and Lafayette, he had faith in the intuitions of the people, and read those intuitions with rare sagacity. He knew how to bide time, and was less apt to run ahead of public thought

than to lag behind. He never sought to electrify the community by taking an advanced position with a banner of opinion, but rather studied to move forward compactly, exposing no detachment in front or rear; so that the course of his administration might have been explained as the calculating policy of a shrewd and watchful politician, had there not been seen behind it a fixedness of principle which from the first determined his purpose, and grew more intense with every year, consuming his life by its energy. Yet his sensibilities were not acute; he had no vividness of imagination to picture to his mind the horrors of the battle-field or the sufferings in hospitals; his conscience was more tender than his feelings.

Lincoln was one of the most unassuming of men. In time of success, he gave credit for it to those whom he employed, to the people, and to the Providence of God. He did not know what ostentation is; when he became President he was rather saddened than elated, and his conduct and manners showed more than ever his belief that all men are born equal. He was no respecter of persons, and neither rank, nor reputation, nor services overawed him. In judging of character he failed in discrimination, and his appointments were sometimes bad; but he readily deferred to public

opinion, and in appointing the head of the armies he followed the manifest preference of Congress.

A good President will secure unity to his administration by his own supervision of the various departments. LINCOLN, who accepted advice readily, was never governed by any member of his cabinet, and could not be moved from a purpose deliberately formed; but his supervision of affairs was unsteady and incomplete, and sometimes, by a sudden interference transcending the usual forms, he rather confused than advanced the public business. If he ever failed in the scrupulous regard due to the relative rights of Congress, it was so evidently without design that no conflict could ensue, or evil precedent be established. Truth he would receive from any one, but when impressed by others, he did not use their opinions till, by reflection, he had made them thoroughly his own.

It was the nature of LINCOLN to forgive. When hostilities ceased, he, who had always sent forth the flag with every one of its stars in the field, was eager to receive back his returning countrymen, and meditated "some new announcement to the South." The amendment of the Constitution abolishing slavery had his most earnest and unwearied support. During the rage of war we get a glimpse into his soul from his privately

suggesting to Louisiana, that "in defining the franchise some of the colored people might be let in," saying: "They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom." In 1857 he avowed himself "not in favor of" what he improperly called "negro citizenship," for the Constitution discriminates between citizens and electors. Three days before his death he declared his preference that "the elective franchise were now conferred on the very intelligent of the colored men, and on those of them who served our cause as soldiers;" but he wished it done by the States themselves, and he never harbored the thought of exacting it from a new government, as a condition of its recognition.

The last day of his life beamed with sunshine, as he sent, by the Speaker of this House, his friendly greetings to the men of the Rocky mountains and the Pacific slope; as he contemplated the return of hundreds of thousands of soldiers to fruitful industry; as he welcomed in advance hundreds of thousands of emigrants from Europe; as his eye kindled with enthusiasm at the coming wealth of the nation. And so, with these thoughts for his country, he was removed from the toils and temptations of this life, and was at peace.

Hardly had the late President been consigned to the

grave when the prime minister of England died, full of years and honors. Palmerston traced his lineage to the time of the conqueror; LINCOLN went back only to his grandfather. Palmerston received his education from the best scholars of Harrow, Edinburg, and Cambridge; LINCOLN's early teachers were the silent forest, the prairie, the river, and the stars. Palmerston was in public life for sixty years; LINCOLN for but a tenth of that time. Palmerston was a skilful guide of an established aristocracy; LINCOLN a leader, or rather a companion, of the people. Palmerston was exclusively an Englishman, and made his boast in the House of Commons that the interest of England was his Shibboleth; LINCOLN thought always of mankind, as well as his own country, and served human nature itself. Palmerston, from his narrowness as an Englishman, did not endear his country to any one court or to any one nation, but rather caused general uneasiness and dislike; LINCOLN left America more beloved than ever by all the peoples of Europe. Palmerston was self-possessed and adroit in reconciling the conflicting factions of the aristocracy; LINCOLN, frank and ingenuous, knew how to poise himself on the ever-moving opinions of the masses. Palmerston was capable of insolence towards the weak, quick to the sense of honor, not heedful of right;

LINCOLN rejected counsel given only as a matter of policy, and was not capable of being wilfully unjust. Palmerston, essentially superficial, delighted in banter, and knew how to divert grave opposition by playful levity; LINCOLN was a man of infinite jest on his lips, with saddest earnestness at his heart. Palmerston was a fair representative of the aristocratic liberality of the day, choosing for his tribunal, not the conscience of humanity, but the House of Commons; LINCOLN took to heart the eternal truths of liberty, obeyed them as the commands of Providence, and accepted the human race as the judge of his fidelity. Palmerston did nothing that will endure; LINCOLN finished a work which all time cannot overthrow. Palmerston is a shining example of the ablest of a cultivated aristocracy; LINCOLN is the genuine fruit of institutions where the laboring man shares and assists to form the great ideas and designs of his country. Palmerston was buried in Westminister Abbey by the order of his Queen, and was attended by the British aristocracy to his grave, which, after a few years, will hardly be noticed by the side of the graves of Fox and Chatham; LINCOLN was followed by the sorrow of his country across the continent to his resting-place in the heart of the Mississippi valley, to be remembered through all

time by his countrymen, and by all the peoples of the world.

As the sum of all, the hand of LINCOLN raised the flag; the American people was the hero of the war; and, therefore, the result is a new era of republicanism. The disturbances in the country grew not out of anything republican, but out of slavery, which is a part of the system of hereditary wrong; and the expulsion of this domestic anomaly opens to the renovated nation a career of unthought-of dignity and glory. Henceforth our country has a moral unity as the land of free labor. The party for slavery and the party against slavery are no more, and are merged in the party of Union and freedom. The States which would have left us are not brought back as subjugated States, for then we should hold them only so long as that conquest could be maintained; they come to their rightful place under the Constitution as original, necessary, and inseparable members of the Union.

We build monuments to the dead, but no monuments of victory. We respect the example of the Romans, who never, even in conquered lands, raised emblems of triumph. And our generals are not to be classed in the herd of vulgar warriors, but are of the school of Timoleon, and William of Nassau, and Washington.

They have used the sword only to give peace to their country and restore her to her place in the great assembly of the nations.

Senators and Representatives of America: as I bid you farewell, my last words shall be words of hope and confidence; for now slavery is no more, the Union is restored, a people begins to live according to the laws of reason, and republicanism is intrenched in a continent.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was assassinated at 10.30 p. m. on the 14th of April, 1865, and died at 7.20 a. m. the next day. Congress was not in session, but a large number of members hastened to the Capitol on the receipt of the startling intelligence, and on the 17th a card was published by Senator Foot, inviting those Senators and Representatives who might be in the city the next day to meet at the Capitol, to consider what action they would take in relation to the funeral ceremonies.

The members of the 39th Congress then in Washington met in the Senate reception room, at the Capitol, on the 17th of April, 1865, at noon. Hon. LAFAYETTE S. FOSTER of Connecticut, President *pro tem.* of the Senate, was called to the chair, and the Hon. SCHUYLER COLFAX of Indiana, Speaker of the House in the 38th Congress, was chosen secretary.

Senator FOOT, of Vermont, who was visibly affected, stated that the object of the meeting was to make arrangements relative to the funeral of the deceased President of the United States.

On motion of Senator SUMNER, of Massachusetts, a committee of four members from each house was ordered to report at 4 p. m., what action would be fitting for the meeting to take. The Chairman appointed Senators Sumner of Massachusetts, Harris of New York, Johnson of Maryland, Ramsey of Minnesota, and Conness of California, and Representatives Washburne of Illinois, Smith of Kentucky, Schenck of Ohio, Pike of Maine, and Coffroth of Pennsylvania; and on motion of Mr. Schenck, the Chairman and Secretary of the meeting were added to the Committee, and then the meeting adjourned until 4 p. m.

The meeting re-assembled at 4 p. m., pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. SUMNER, from the Committee heretofore appointed, reported that they had selected as pall-bearers on the part of the Senate: Mr. Foster of Connecticut; Mr. Morgan of New York; Mr. Johnson of Maryland; Mr. Yates of Illinois; Mr. Wade of Ohio, and Mr. Conness of California. On the part of the House: Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts; Mr. Coffroth of Pennsylvania; Mr. Smith of Kentucky; Mr. Colfax of Indiana; Mr. Worthington of Nevada, and Mr. Washburne of Illinois. They also recommended the appointment of one member of Congress from each State and Territory to act as a Congressional Committee to accompany the remains of the late President to Illinois, and presented the following names as such Committee, the Chairman of the meeting to have the authority of appointing hereafter for the States and Territories not represented to-day from which members may be present at the Capitol by the day of the funeral:

Maine, Mr. Pike; New Hampshire, Mr. E. H. Rollins; Vermont, Mr. Foot; Massachusetts, Mr. Sumner; Rhode Island, Mr. Anthony; Connecticut, Mr. Dixon; New York, Mr. Harris; Pennsylvania, Mr. Cowan; Ohio, Mr. Schenck; Kentucky, Mr. Smith; Indiana, Mr. Julian; Illinois, the delegation; Michigan, Mr. Chandler; Iowa, Mr. Harlan; California, Mr. Shannon; Minnesota, Mr. Ramsey; Oregon, Mr. Williams; Kansas, Mr. S. Clarke; West Virginia, Mr. Whaley; Nevada, Mr. Nye; Nebraska, Mr. Hitchcock; Colorado, Mr. Bradford; Dakota, Mr. Todd; Idaho, Mr. Wallace.

The Committee also recommended the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Sergeants-at-Arms of the Senate and House with their necessary assistants be requested to attend the Committee

accompanying the remains of the late President, and to make all the necessary arrangements.

All of which was concurred in unanimously.

Mr. SUMNER from the same Committee also reported the following, which was unanimously agreed to:

The members of the Senate and House of Representatives now assembled in Washington, humbly confessing their dependence upon Almighty God who rules all that is done for human good, make haste, at this informal meeting, to express the emotions with which they have been filled by the appalling tragedy which has deprived the Nation of its head and covered the land with mourning; and in further declaration of their sentiments unanimously resolve:

1. That in testimony of their veneration and affection for the illustrious dead, who has been permitted under Providence to do so much for his country and for liberty, they will unite in the funeral services, and by an appropriate Committee will accompany his remains to their place of burial in the State from which he was taken for the national service.

2. That in the life of Abraham Lincoln, who, by the benignant favor of Republican institutions, rose from humble beginnings to the heights of power and fame, they recognize an example of purity, simplicity and virtue, which should be a lesson to mankind; while in his death they recognize a martyr, whose memory will become more precious as men learn to prize those principles of constitutional order and those rights, civil, political, and human, for which he was made a sacrifice.

3. That they invite the President of the United States, by solemn proclamation, to recommend to the people of the United States to assemble on a day to be appointed by him, publicly to testify their grief, and to dwell on the good which has been done on earth by him whom we now mourn.

4. That a copy of these resolutions be communicated to the President of the United States; and also, that a copy be communicated to the afflicted widow of the late President, as an expression of sympathy in her great bereavement.

The meeting then adjourned.

The funeral ceremonies took place in the East room of the Executive Mansion, at noon, on the 19th of April, and the remains were then escorted to the Capitol, where they lay in state in the rotundo.

On the morning of April 21, the remains were taken from the Capitol and placed in a funeral car, in which they were taken to Springfield, Illinois, accompanied by the Congressional Committee. Halting at the principal cities along the route, that appropriate honors might be paid to the deceased, the funeral cortége arrived on the 3d of May at Springfield, Illinois, and the next day the remains were deposited in Oak Ridge cemetery near that city.

President JOHNSON, in his annual message to Congress at the commencement of the session of 1865–'66, thus announced the death of his predecessor:

"To express gratitude to God, in the name of the people, for the preservation of the United States, is my first duty in addressing you. Our thoughts next revert to the death of the late President by an act of parricidal treason. The grief of the nation is still fresh; it finds some solace in the consideration that he lived to enjoy the highest proof of its confidence by entering on the renewed term of the Chief Magistracy to which he had been elected; that he brought the civil war substantially to a close; that his loss was deplored in all parts of the Union; and that foreign nations have rendered justice to his memory."

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE, of Illinois, immediately after the President's message had been read in the House of Representatives, offered the following joint resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of one member from each State represented in this House be appointed on the part of this House, to join such committee as may be appointed on the part of the Senate, to consider and report by what token of respect and affection it may be proper for the Congress of the United States to express the deep sensibility of the nation to the event of the decease of their late President, Abraham Lincoln, and that so much of the message of the President as refers to that melancholy event be referred to said committee.

On motion of Hon. SOLOMON FOOT, the Senate unanimously concurred in the passage of the resolution, and the following joint committee was appointed—thirteen on the part of the Senate and one for every State represented (twenty-four) on the part of the House of Representatives:

SENATE.	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
Hon. Solomon Foot.....Vt.	Hon. Elihu B. Washburne..Ill.
Hon. Richard Yates.....Ill.	Hon. James G. Blaine.....Me.
Hon. Benj. F. Wade.....Ohio.	Hon. James W. Patterson. N. H.
Hon. Wm. Pitt Fessenden ..Me.	Hon. Justin S. Morrill.....Vt.
Hon. Henry Wilson.....Mass.	Hon. Nathaniel P. Banks .Mass.
Hon. James R. Doolittle...Wis.	Hon. Thomas A. Jenckes..R. I.
Hon. Jas. H. Lane.....Ka.	Hon. Henry C. Deming.....Ct.
Hon. Ira Harris .....N. Y.	Hon. John A. Griswold...N. Y.
Hon. Jas. W. Nesmith..Oregon.	Hon. Edwin R. V. Wright.N. J.
Hon. Henry S. Lane .....Ind.	Hon. Thaddeus Stevens.....Pa.
Hon. Waitman T. Willey. W.Va.	Hon. John A. Nicholson....Del.
Hon. Chas. R. Buckalew....Pa.	Hon. Francis Thomas .....Md.
Hon. John B. Henderson...Mo.	Hon. Robert C. Schenck..Ohio.
	Hon. George S. Shanklin...Ky.
	Hon. Godlove S. Orth.....Ind.
	Hon. Joseph W. McClurg ..Mo.
	Hon. Fernando C. Beaman. Mich.
	Hon. John A. Kasson ....Iowa.
	Hon. Ithamar C. Sloan....Wis.
	Hon. William Higby .....Cal.
	Hon. William Windom...Minn.
	Hon. J. H. D. Henderson, Oregon.
	Hon. Sidney Clarke....Kansas.
	Hon. Kellian V. Whaley. W. Va.

That committee, by Hon. Mr. FOOT, made the following report, which was concurred in by both Houses *nem. con.*

Whereas the melancholy event of the violent and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States, having occurred during the recess of Congress, and the two Houses sharing in the general grief and desiring to manifest their sensibility upon the occasion of the public bereavement: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring,) That the two Houses of Congress will assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on Monday, the 12th day of February next, that being his anniversary birthday, at the hour of twelve meridian, and that, in the presence of the two Houses there assembled, an address upon the life and character of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States, be pronounced by Hon. Edwin M. Stanton; and that the President of the Senate *pro tempore* and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be requested to invite the President of the United States, the heads of the several Departments, the judges of the Supreme Court, the representatives of the foreign governments near this Government, and such officers of the army and navy as have received the thanks of Congress who may then be at the seat of Government, to be present on the occasion.

And be it further resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to Mrs. Lincoln, and to assure her of the profound sympathy of the two Houses of Congress for her deep personal affliction, and of their sincere condolence for the late national bereavement.

The Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT of New York, in response to an invitation from the joint committee, consented to deliver the address, (Mr. Stanton having previously declined.)

On the morning of the 12th of February, 1865, the Capitol was closed to all except the members of Congress. At ten o'clock the doors leading to the rotundo were opened to those to whom tickets of admission had been extended, and the spacious galleries of the House of Representatives were soon crowded. The Speaker's desk was draped in mourning, and chairs were placed upon the floor for the invited guests.

At 12.30 p. m., the members of the Senate, following their President *pro tempore* and their Secretary, and preceded by their Sergeant-at-Arms, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and

occupied the seats reserved for them on the right and left of the main aisle.

The President *pro tempore* occupied the Speaker's chair, the Speaker of the House sitting at his left. The Chaplains of the Senate and of the House were seated on the right and left of the Presiding Officers of their respective Houses.

Shortly afterward the President of the United States, with the members of his Cabinet, entered the Hall and occupied seats, the President in front of the Speaker's table, and his Cabinet immediately on his right.

Immediately after the entrance of the President, the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States entered the Hall and occupied seats next to the President, on the right of the Speaker's table.

The others present were seated as follows:

The Heads of Departments, with the Diplomatic Corps, next to the President, on the left of the Speaker's table;

Officers of the Army and Navy, who, by name, have received the thanks of Congress, next to the Supreme Court, on the right of the Speaker's table;

Assistant Heads of Departments, Governors of States and Territories, and the Mayors of Washington and Georgetown, directly in the rear of the Heads of Departments;

The Chief Justice and Judges of the Court of Claims, and the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, directly in the rear of the Supreme Court;

The Heads of Bureaus in the Departments, directly in the rear of the officers of the Army and Navy;

Representatives on either side of the Hall, in the rear of those

invited, four rows of seats on either side of the main aisles being reserved for Senators;

The Orator of the day, Hon. George Bancroft, at the table of the Clerk of the House;

The Chairmen of the Joint Committee of Arrangements, at the right and left of the orator, and next to them the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House;

The other officers of the Senate and of the House, on the floor at the right and the left of the Speaker's platform.

When order was restored, at twelve o'clock and twenty minutes p. m., the Marine band, stationed in the vestibule, played appropriate dirges.

Hon. LAFAYETE S. FOSTER, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, called the two Houses of Congress to order at 12.30.

Rev. DR. BOYNTON, Chaplain of the House, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, who dost inhabit eternity, while we appear but for a little moment and then vanish away, we adore The Eternal Name. Infinite in power and majesty, and greatly to be feared art Thou. All earthly distinctions disappear in Thy presence, and we come before Thy throne simply as men, fallen men, condemned alike by Thy law, and justly cut off through sin from communion with Thee. But through Thy infinite mercy, a new way of access has been opened through Thy Son, and consecrated by His blood. We come, in that all-worthy Name, and plead the promise of pardon and acceptance through Him. By the imposing solemnities of this scene we are carried back to the hour when the nation heard, and shuddered at the hearing, that Abraham Lincoln was dead—was murdered. We would bow ourselves submissively to Him by whom

that awful hour was appointed. We bow to the stroke that fell on the country in the very hour of its triumph, and hushed all its shouts of victory to one voiceless sorrow. "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord." The shadow of that death has not yet passed from the heart of the nation, as this national testimonial bears witness to-day. The gloom thrown from these surrounding emblems of death is fringed, we know, with the glory of a great triumph, and the light of a great and good man's memory. Still, O Lord, may this hour bring to us the proper warning! "Be ye also ready; for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of Man cometh." Any one of us may be called as suddenly as he whom we mourn.

We worship Thee as the God of our fathers. Thou didst trace for them a path over the trackless sea, and bring them to these shores, bearing with them the seed of a great dominion. We thank Thee that the life-power of the young nation they planted, received from Thee such energy, guidance, and protection, that it spread rapidly over the breadth of the continent, carrying with it Christian liberty, churches, schools, and all the blessings of a Christian civilization. We thank Thee that the progress of the true American life has been irresistible, because sustained by Thy eternal counsels and Thy almighty power, and because the might of God was in this national life. We have seen it sweeping all opposition away, grinding great systems and parties to powder, and breaking in pieces the devices of men; and Thou hast raised up for it heroic defenders in every hour of peril. We thank Thee, O Strong Defender! And when treason was hatching its plot and massing its armies, then, O God of Israel, who didst bring David from the sheepfold, Thou gavest one reared in the humble cabin to become the hope and stay

of this great people in their most perilous hour, to shield them in disaster and lead them to final victory.

We thank Thee that Thou gavest us an honest man, simple-hearted and loving as a child, but with a rugged strength that needed only culture and discipline. Thanks be to God that this discipline was granted him through stern public trial, domestic sorrow, and Thy solemn providences, till the mere politician was overshadowed by the nobler growth of his moral and spiritual nature, till he came, as we believe, into sympathy with Christ, and saw that we could succeed only by doing justice. Then, inspired by Thee, he uttered those words of power which changed three millions of slaves into men—the great act which has rendered his name forever illustrious and secured the triumph of our cause. We think of him almost as the prophet of his era. Thou didst make that honest, great-hearted man the central figure of his age, setting upon goodness, upon moral grandeur, the seal of Thine approval and the crown of victory. We bless Thee that he did not die until assured of victory, until he knew that his great work was done, and he had received all the honor that earth could bestow, and then we believe Thou didst give him a martyr's crown. We thank Thee that we have this hope for the illustrious dead.

Great reason have we also to thank Thee that such was the enduring strength of our institutions that they received no perceptible shock from the death of even such a man and in such an hour, and that Thou didst provide for that perilous moment one whose strength was sufficient to receive and bear the weight of government, and who, we trust, will work out the great problem of Christian freedom to its final solution, and by equal law and equal rights bind this great people into one inseparable whole.

We thank Thee that the representatives of the nation have come

to sit to-day in the shadow of Abraham Lincoln's tomb, to express once more their now chastened sorrow. May they all reconsecrate themselves to those principles which made him worthy to be remembered thus, and then a redeemed and transfigured land will be a fitting monument for him and for them.

Endow the President with wisdom equal to his great responsibilities, that the blessings of a whole nation may also be given to him. May his advisers, our judges, and our legislators, be constantly instructed by Thee.

May Thy blessing rest on the officers of the army and navy, by whose skill and courage our triumph was won; upon our soldiers and sailors; upon our people, and on those who are struggling on toward a perfect manhood.

Bless these eminent men the honored representatives of Foreign Powers. Remember the sovereigns and people they represent. We thank Thee that peace reigns with them as with us. May it continue until the nations shall learn war no more.

Remember Abraham Lincoln's widow and family. Comfort them in their sore bereavement. May they be consoled to know how much the father and husband is loved and honored still.

Give Divine support to the distinguished orator of the day. May he so speak as to impress the whole nation's mind. Prepare us to live as men in this age should, that we may be received into Thy Heavenly Kingdom, and to Thy name shall be the praise and the glory forevermore. Amen.

Hon. LAFAYETTE S. FOSTER, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, in introducing the orator of the day, said:

No ordinary occasion could have convened this august assemblage.

For four weary years the storm of war, of civil war, raged fiercely over our country. The blood of the best and bravest of her sons

was freely shed to preserve her name and place among the nations of the earth. In April last, the dark clouds which had so long hung heavily and gloomily over our heads, were all dispersed, and the light of peace, more welcome even than the vernal sunshine, gladdened the eyes and the hearts of our people. Shouts of joy and songs of triumph echoed through the land. The hearts of the devout poured themselves in orisons and thanksgivings to the God of battles and of nations that the most wicked and most formidable rebellion ever known in human history had been effectually crushed, and our country saved.

In the midst of all this abounding joy, suddenly and swiftly as the lightning's flash came the fearful tidings that the Chief Magistrate of the Republic—our President—loved and honored as few men ever were—so honest, so faithful, so true to his duty and his country, had been foully murdered—had fallen by the bullet of an assassin. All hearts were stricken with horror. The transition from extreme joy to profound sorrow was never more sudden and universal. Had it been possible for a stranger, ignorant of the truth, to look over our land, he would have supposed that there had come upon us some visitation of the Almighty not less dreadful than that which once fell on ancient Egypt on that fearful night when there was not a house where there was not one dead.

The nation wept for him.

After being gazed upon by myriads of loving eyes, under the dome of this magnificent Capitol, the remains of our President were borne in solemn procession through our cities, towns, and villages, all draped in the habilaments of sorrow, the symbols and tokens of profound and heartfelt grief, to their final resting-place in the capital of his own State. There he sleeps, peacefully, embalmed in his country's tears.

The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States have deemed it proper to commemorate this tragic event by appropriate services. This day, the birth-day of him whom we mourn, has properly been selected. An eminent citizen, distinguished by his labors and services in high and responsible public positions at home and abroad—whose pen has instructed the present age in the history of his country, and done much to transmit the fame and renown of that country to future ages—Hon. George Bancroft—will now deliver a discourse.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT (who on coming forward to the Clerk's desk was greeted with warm demonstrations of applause) then proceeded to deliver the Memorial Address.

The exercises of the day were closed by the following prayer and benediction by the Rev. Dr. GRAY, Chaplain of the Senate:

God of a bereaved nation, from Thy high and holy Habitation look down upon us and suitably impress us to-day, with a sense that God only is great. Kings and Presidents die; but Thou, the Universal Ruler, livest to roll on thine undisturbed affairs forever, from Thy Throne. A wail has gone up from the heart of the nation to heaven—O, hear, and pity, and assuage, and save. We pray that Thou wilt command thy blessing now, which is life forevermore, upon the family of the President dead; upon the President living upon the Ministers of state; upon the united Houses of Congress; upon the Judges of our Courts; upon the officers of the Army and the Navy; upon the broken families and desolated homes all over the land; and especially upon the nation. And grant that grace and peace and mercy from the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of God the Spirit, may rest upon and abide with us all, forever and ever. Amen.

The Senators then returned to the Senate Chamber, and the Presi-

dent of the United States, the orator of the day, and the invited guests withdrew, the Marine Band, stationed in the amphitheater, performing national airs.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE, of Illinois, after the House had resumed the transaction of business, by unanimous consent, introduced the following concurrent resolutions; which were read, considered, and agreed to:

Resolved, (the Senate concurring,) That the thanks of Congress be presented to Hon. George Bancroft for the appropriate memorial address delivered by him on the life and services of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States, in the Representatives Hall before both Houses of Congress and their invited guests, on the 12th day of February, 1866, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

Resolved, That the chairmen of the joint committee appointed to make the necessary arrangements to carry into effect the resolution of this Congress in relation to the memorial exercises in honor of Abraham Lincoln be requested to communicate to Mr. Bancroft the aforegoing resolution, receive his answer thereto, and present the same to both Houses of Congress.

These resolutions were transmitted to the Senate, where, on motion of the Hon. Solomon Foot, of Vermont, they were considered by unanimous consent, and concurred in.

In the Senate, on the 16th of February, Hon. Mr. FOOT stated that in pursuance of the concurrent resolutions of the two Houses of Congress adopted on the 12th instant, the chairmen of the joint committee of arrangements on the memorial exercises of the late President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, had placed a certified copy of said concurrent resolutions in the hands of Hon. George Bancroft, and had requested of him a copy of his address on the occasion referred to for publication, as would appear from the following correspondence, which he moved be read, laid upon the table, and printed.

As no objection was made, the Secretary read as follows:

THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON,
February 13, 1866.

SIR: We have the honor to present to you an official copy of the two concurrent resolutions adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives on the 12th instant, expressing the thanks of Congress for the appropriate memorial address delivered by you on the life and services of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States, and instructing us to request from you a copy of the address for publication.

Having shared the high gratification of hearing the address, we take pleasure, in accordance with the second of the concurrent resolutions, in requesting you to furnish a copy of the address for publication.

We have the honor to be, with very great respect, your obedient servants,

SOLOMON FOOT,
Chairman on the part of the Senate
E. B. WASHBURNE,
Chairman on the part of the House.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February* 14, 1866.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your letter of yesterday and a copy of the two concurrent resolutions of Congress to which you refer. The thanks of the Senate and House of Representatives, for the performance of the duty assigned me, I value as a very distinguished honor, and I shall cheerfully furnish a copy of the address for publication.

I remain, gentlemen, very sincerely yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

Hon. SOLOMON FOOT,
Chairman on the part of the Senate.
Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE,
Chairman on the part of the House.

In the House of Representatives, Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE, of Illinois, made the same statement, and, after the correspondence submitted had been read, the House ordered an edition of twenty thousand extra copies.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

LORD RUSSELL TO MR. ADAMS.

CHESHAM PLACE, *Feb.* 28, 1866.

DEAR MR. ADAMS—I observe in the *Daily News* of yesterday extracts from a speech of Mr. Bancroft, delivered in the House of Representatives on the 12th instant. In this speech Mr. Bancroft is represented to have said, referring to the breaking out of the civil war: "The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made haste to send word through the palaces of Europe that the great republic was in its agony; that the republic was no more; that a headstone was all that remained due by the law of nations to 'the late Union.'"

As words pronounced on such an occasion, and by so eminent a man as Mr. Bancroft, may have an effect far beyond the injury which my personal character might suffer, I must request you to convey to Mr. Bancroft my denial of the truth of his allegations, and to refer him to facts of a totally opposite character.

Soon after the news of the resistance in arms of the Southern States to the government of the Union arrived in this country, a member of the House of Commons stated in his place that the bubble of republicanism had burst. I replied in the same debate that the bubble of republicanism had not burst, and that if the curse of slavery still hung about the United States it was England who had made them the gift of the poisoned garment which was now their torment. In fact, I have never had any doubt that, whether the United States consented to separation or pursued the war to extremity, the great Western republic would remain, happily for the world, a powerful and independent republic.

The authors of the Declaration of Independence, in declaring for separation from Great Britain, after enumerating their complaints of her conduct, go on to say: "We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends."

That we should be enemies in war is easily understood, but when we are at peace why should we not be friends, as the great men of the American revolution intended us to be? If they, in a moment of separation and of war, looked forward to a period of peace and of friendship, why should we, more than three-quarters of a century after these events, keep up sentiments of irritation and hostility founded on a mistaken apprehension of facts, and tending to lay the foundation of permanent alienation, suspicion, and ill-will.

As Mr. Bancroft's speech is likely to have very extensive publicity, I reserve to myself the power of making public this letter at such time as I shall judge fit.

I remain, my dear Mr. Adams, your faithful servant,

RUSSELL.

P. S.—I subjoin an extract from my speech on the 30th of May, 1861, as reported in Hansard's Debates.

MR. BANCROFT TO MR. ADAMS, IN REPLY.

NEW YORK, *March* 23, 1866.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS—I have received from you, by Lord Russell's desire, a copy of his letter to you of the 28th of February last, in which he denies the truth of certain allegations in my address to Congress on the 12th of the same month. The passage which he cites contains these three allegations: that, as British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he viewed this republic as "the late Union;" that he sent this view of our country through the palaces of Europe; and that he made haste to do so. When Lord Russell calls to mind the authority for these statements, he must acknowledge them to be perfectly just and true.

On the 6th day of May, 1861, Lord John Russell, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wrote a dispatch to Lord Lyons, in which he described the condition of America as "the disruption of a confederacy;" and he further used these words: "Civil war has broken out between the several States of the late Union. The government of the Southern portion has duly constituted itself. Her Majesty's government do not wish you to make any mystery of that view." Here is irrefragable proof of my first allegation.

On the day on which the Minister of the Queen thus wrote, he addressed a dispatch to Lord Cowley, her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, designating our republic as "the States which lately composed the American Union," "the late United States," "the late Union;"

and he inclosed in that dispatch, for Lord Cowley's instruction, a copy of the above-cited letter to Lord Lyons. Having thus ostentatiously communicated his view of our country as "the late Union," he asked in return, "to be made acquainted with the views of the imperial government." My second allegation is, therefore, true, in letter and in spirit.

That Lord John Russell, as Secretary of State, was in haste to do this, appears from his not having awaited the arrival of the American Minister of Mr. Lincoln's appointment, and from those very letters of the 6th of May, 1861, to Lord Cowley and to Lord Lyons; for in those letters he confesses that he had not as yet "received from Lord Lyons any report of the state of affairs and of the prospects of the several parties;" but that, on coming to the decision which was so momentous and unprecedented, he acted on the reports of "some consuls," and "of the public prints."

It is true that, twenty-four days after Lord John Russell had officially described our country as "the disruption of a confederacy," "the late United States," "the late Union," he reproved a member of the House of Commons for openly exulting "that the great republican bubble in America had burst," and owned "that the republic had been for many years a great and free State." But he uttered no expectation or hope of the restoration of our Union, and rather intimated that the Americans were "about to destroy each other's happiness and freedom." Lord John, on that occasion, rightly attributed the rebellion to the "accursed institution of slavery," and confessed that England was the giver of the "poisoned garment;" that the former governments of Great Britain were "themselves to blame for the origin of the evil." But this confession must be interpreted by the light of his averments on the 6th of May, 1861, and by Lord Russell's later assertion that the efforts of our country were but a contest for "empire."

In speaking to the American Congress of the life and character of Abraham Lincoln, it was my unavoidable duty to refer to the conduct of the British government towards our country during his administration, for nothing so wounded his feelings, or exercised his judgment, or tried his fortitude.

I was asked to address the two Houses of our Congress, and those only. When I learned that the British Minister at Washington was likely to be one of my hearers, I requested Mr. Seward to advise him not to be present; and, through another friend, I sent him a similar message, which he received and perfectly understood.

I need not recall words of ninety years ago to be persuaded that in peace America and the United Kingdom should be friends. I have

a right to say this; for when in the public service, I proved it by public acts; and, as a private citizen, I have never wished our government to demand of a foreign power anything but justice.

Pray send Lord Russell a copy of this letter, which he is at liberty to publish; and I consider myself equally at liberty to publish his letter, to which this is a reply.

I am ever, my dear Mr. Adams, very truly yours,

GEO. BANCROFT.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S LETTER TO EARL COWLEY, ALLUDED TO BY MR. BANCROFT.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *May* 6, 1861.

MY LORD—Although her Majesty's government have received no dispatches from Lord Lyons by the mail which has just arrived, the communication between Washington and New York being interrupted, yet the accounts which have reached them from some of her Majesty's consuls, coupled with what has appeared in the public prints, are sufficient to show that a civil war has broken out among the States which lately composed the American Union.

Other nations have, therefore, to consider the light in which, with reference to that war, they are to regard the confederacy into which the Southern States have united themselves; and it appears to her Majesty's government that, looking at all the circumstances of the case, they cannot hesitate to admit that such confederacy is entitled to be considered as a belligerent, and, as such, invested with all the rights and prerogatives of a belligerent. I have stated this to Lord Lyons in the dispatch of which I inclose a copy for your Excellency's information.

In making known to M. Thouvenel the opinion of her Majesty's government on this point, your Excellency will add, that you are instructed to call the attention of the French government to the bearing which this unfortunate contest threatens to have on the rights and interests of neutral nations.

On the one hand, President Lincoln, in behalf of the Northern portion of the late United States, has issued a proclamation declaratory of an intention to subject the ports of the Southern portion of the late Union to a rigorous blockade; on the other hand, President Davis, on behalf of the Southern portion of the late Union, has issued a proclamation declaratory of an intention to grant letters of marque for cruisers to be employed against the commerce of the North.

In this state of things it appears to her Majesty's government to

be well deserving of the immediate consideration of all maritime powers, but more especially France and England, whether they should not take some steps to invite the contending parties to act upon the principles laid down in the second and third articles of the Declaration of Paris, of 1856, which relates to the security of neutral property on the high seas.

The United States, as an entire government, have not acceded to that declaration; but in practice they have, in their conventions with other powers, adopted the second article, although admitting that without some such convention the rule was not one of universal application.

As regards the third article, in recent treaties concluded by the United States with South American republics, the principle adopted has been at variance with that laid down in the Declaration of Paris.

Your Excellency will remember that, when it was proposed to the government of the United States, in 1856, to adopt the whole of the Declaration of Paris, they, in the first instance, agreed to the second, third, and fourth proposals, but made a condition as to the first that the other powers should assent to extending the declaration so as to exempt all private property whatever from capture on the high seas; but before any final decision was taken on this proposal the government of President Buchanan, which in the interval had come into power, withdrew the proposition altogether.

It seems to her Majesty's government to be deserving of consideration whether a joint endeavor should not now be made to obtain from each of the belligerents a formal recognition of both principles as laid down in the Declaration of Paris, so that such principles shall be admitted by both, as they have been admitted by the powers who made or acceded to the Declaration of Paris, henceforth to form part of the general law of nations.

Her Majesty's government would be glad to be made acquainted with the views of the imperial government on this matter with as little delay as possible. I am, &c., J. RUSSELL.

LORD J. RUSSELL TO LORD LYONS.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *May* 6, 1861.

MY LORD—Her Majesty's government are disappointed in not having received from you, by the mail which has just arrived, any report of the state of affairs, and of the prospects of the several parties with reference to the issue of the struggle which appears unfortunately to

have commenced between them; but the interruption of communication between Washington and New York sufficiently explains the non-arrival of your dispatches.

The account, however, which her Majesty's consuls at different ports were enabled to forward by the packet coincide in showing that, whatever may be the final result of what cannot now be designated otherwise than as the civil war which has broken out between the several States of the late Union, for the present, at least, those States have separated into distinct confederacies, and, as such, are carrying on war against each other.

The question for neutral nations to consider is, what is the character of the war, and whether it should be regarded as a war carried on between parties severally in a position to wage war, and to claim the rights, and to perform the obligations, attaching to belligerents.

Her Majesty's government consider that the question can only be answered in the affirmative. If the government of the Northern portion of the late Union possess the advantages inherent in long-established governments, the government of the Southern portion has, nevertheless, duly constituted itself, and carries on in a regular form the administration of the civil government of the States of which it is composed.

Her Majesty's government, therefore, without assuming to pronounce upon the merits of the question on which the respective parties are at issue, can do no less than accept the facts presented to them. They deeply deplore the disruption of a confederacy with which they have at all times sought to cultivate the most friendly relations; they view with the greatest apprehension and concern the misery and desolation in which that disruption threatens to involve the provinces now arrayed in arms against each other; but they feel that they cannot question the right of the Southern States to claim to be recognised as a belligerent, and, as such, invested with all the rights and prerogatives of a belligerent.

I think it right to give your Lordship this timely notice of the view taken by her Majesty's government of the present state of affairs in North America, and her Majesty's government do not wish you to make any mystery of that view.

I shall send your Lordship, by an early opportunity, such further information on these matters as may be required for your guidance. At present I have only to add that no expression of regret that you may employ, at the present disastrous state of affairs, will too strongly

declare the feelings with which her Majesty's government contemplate all the evils which cannot fail to result from it.

I am, &c., J. RUSSELL.

EXTRACT OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 30, 1861.

My honorable friend, the member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, alluded the other night to one subject in a tone which I was very sorry to hear used by any one. My honorable friend said that "the great republican bubble in America had burst." Now, sir, I am proud to confess—I may be subject to correction—but, for my part, when I find that a dark and tyrannical despotism has been abolished, and that people are likely to enjoy free government in its place, I rejoice. It is my duty to represent her Majesty as friendly to all existing States; but if a despotic government fall, and the people who have been subjected to it are likely to obtain better and freer government, I cannot conceal that it gives me satisfaction, and that I sympathize with them. But I own I have very different feelings when a great republic, which has enjoyed, for seventy or eighty years, institutions under which the people have been free and happy, enters into a conflict n which that freedom and happiness is placed in jeopardy. I must say the joy which I felt at the overthrow of some of the despotisms of Italy is counterbalanced by the pain which I experience at the events which have lately taken place in America. I admit that I have thought, and that I still think, that in this country we enjoy more real freedom than the United States have ever done. I admit, also, that the great founders of that republic, wise and able men as they were, had not the materials at hand by which they could interpose, as we are able to do in this country, the curb and correction of reason, in order to restrain the passionate outbursts of the popular will. Yet we cannot be blind to the fact that the republic has been for many years a great and free State, exhibiting to the world the example of a people in the enjoyment of wealth, happiness, and freedom, and affording bright prospects of the progress and improvement of mankind. When I reflect that the reproaches which are cast by the States of the North upon the States of the South, and the resistance which they have called forth, have arisen from that accursed institution of slavery, I cannot but recollect, also, that with our great and glorious institutions we gave them that curse, and that ours were the hands from which they received that fatal gift of the poisoned garment which was flung around them from the first hour of their establishment. Therefore, I

do not think it just or seemly that there should be among us anything like exultation at their discord, and still less that we should reproach them with an evil for the origin of which we are ourselves to blame. These are the feelings with which I heard the remarks of my honorable friend the other night, and I must say that I believe the sentiments which he expressed form an exception to the general impression in England. Indeed, I think nothing could be more honorable to our country than the prevailing pain and grief which have been occasioned by the prospect of that great and free people being about to rush into arms to destroy each other's happiness and freedom.